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342 824 The fronds of the babassu or of the anajá palm furnish thatch for the roofs; such walls as there are are of the same material, which is tied to the posts and, if need be, to supplementary intermediate poles. The parts of the structure are tied together with vines. All the palm thatch is used with the rib of the leaf in horizontal position and with unilaterally dependent leaflets. The ridge is covered with longitudinally laid palm fronds held down by a number of angle-shaped pieces of wood hooked together in pairs.

342 A complete house is walled on all four sides, but sometimes the front wall is partly or wholly missing; or only one half of the house forms a sort of closed room. But the door always faces the long side turned toward the plaza. This front door usually has for a counterpart an entrance in the rear wall. The houses of Ponto, without an exception, conform to this type (pl. 1, *b*); not a single one has the door in the gable wall, as has been alleged.[127] This form does occur fairly often, however, among the Krahõ'.

None of the Canella houses has windows, but these are also lacking in many Neobrazilian homes. The entrance is generally barred by a transversely set old racing log which must be cleared, its purpose being to exclude the freely roaming domestic pigs. At night and when all inmates are away the door is closed, meagerly enough, with a mat of palm thatch placed or hung in front of it. The men erect the houses in which they live, but the women own them.

345 561 The dwellings of the families of the vụ'tẹ' girls, where the age classes assemble and are entertained during the ceremonial period of the year, are put up by the two youngest age classes. The class localized on the west side of the plaza erects the home of the vụ'tẹ' associated with the east, and vice versa.

342 561 464 The youngest age classes also put up a house for the wife of a Canella who has journeyed to the capital in the tribal interest. Anyone desiring the aid of these age classes applies to the councilors, who then transmit the request to the commandants of the classes (p. 93). These units receive no compensation beyond their meals; they always turn up accompanied by their female age-mates, who dance with them and help prepare the food. In one case I saw both matrilineal and patrilineal relatives work at the construction of a house for the woman owning it. In other instances only the residents took part in the building.

351 245 Immediately beside or behind the house, more rarely in front, there are usually several urucú bushes; sometimes one may also see there a pepper shrub, a mango, lemon, or orange tree, the last three of these representing additions from the Neobrazilians.

251 349 A feature comparatively common among the Krahõ', but rare among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, is a scaffold of poles close beside or behind the house. On this stage, always too high to be reached by dogs and pigs, all sorts of objects can be dried in the sun, notably manioc paste, but also gourd vessels, arrow cane, meat, and the like.

511 361 342 The settlements of the other Eastern Timbira present a far less cleanly and orderly appearance. The two Kenpókateye-Krahõ' villages—Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada—do not even remotely approach Ponto in this respect. Their huts are smaller, less carefully built, and for the most part lack hip roofs. The Apą'nyekra aldea, Porquinhos, shows marked deterioration with its twelve small and mostly tumbledown huts. Brush covers the plaza, where a small, poor ranch [484] serves as an hostelry for Neobrazilian travelers, an institution I have never seen among other Timbira groups; and the roads are overgrown with weeds. The settle-

[127] Sampaio and Magalhães Corrêa, Nota sobre habitat rudimentar, Est. II.

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killed, but sought only for lack of all other game. Because of its reputed destruction of snakes the people like to keep it tame in the village. Though I have never observed these birds at this, a tame specimen once gave me a demonstration of its procedure when mistaking my leather belt, which had accidentally dropped, for a snake. Furiously pouncing on the strap, the sariema[1] seized the buckle with its bill, swung it in the air, and lashed it two or three times against the ground in a manner that would inevitably have cracked a snake's spine. Only then did the attacker recognize its error and let the belt alone. Falcons are killed in large numbers when the steppe grass is burnt in June and these birds immediately foregather in order to hunt the startled grasshoppers, lizards, and other small species. Falcons are sought both for their flesh and their downy feathers, which play a great part in Eastern Timbira ceremonial.

Snakes are killed with any handy stick, except that a sucurijú, which has the thickness of a human thigh, requires a sizable club.

Game of agouti size, or larger, is carried home in a palm-leaf basket plaited *ad hoc*. First the hunter plaits the back of the container, deposits the animal on it, and then interlaces the leaflets over it. The tip of a monkey's tail is pulled through its lower jaw and the game is then hung over's one shoulder. A man will tie together a deer's feet, put his head through the ring thus formed, and carry his kill home on his back.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra, too, as noted by Snethlage,[=] drags large game no farther than the village boundary, whence his wife carries it home.

In general the Timbira are still skillful at hunting, exhibiting marked ability to interpret footprints and great perseverance in pursuing wounded animals. A good hunter is prized all the more nowadays because lack of game renders the chase progressively less productive. He is a much coveted husband: I once overheard a Rąmkõ'kamekra reproving his infatuated niece as follows, "You want to marry *him*! What sort of game has *he* ever shot?"

Collective hunting accompanies the festivals, especially the period preceding the terminal celebration, which always requires a large quantity of meat pies. Since this closing ceremony is determined by the council when the duration of the festival is deemed sufficient, this decision likewise involves the signal for collective hunting. This devolves exclusively on the festive societies and age classes that participated in the festival. Each group is accompanied by the two associated girl auxiliaries, who are sometimes joined by several female age mates, especially of the "wanton" class. At least one man of more mature age invariably goes along in order to advise the younger people and to see to the preservation of ceremonial rules. He has the prerogative of eating the brains of animals killed, this diet being tabooed to the young people. The oldest woman of the society—contrary to Snethlage's observation—does not dream of permitting herself to be loaded down with kitchen utensils to be brought to the hunters' assembly. Old women calmly wait in the village for whatever food their sons or sons-in-law are morally obliged to bring them. I am further puzzled by the function of the cords and ropes (both of tucum fiber) with which, according to the same investigator, every hunter provides himself.

In the collective hunting trips, too, the tamhą'k (p. 98) play a part, attempting to increase the yield of the undertaking by first performing certain actions. Indeed, they even tried to improve the quality of the slain game by their magical influence. If animals were to be surrounded with the aid of firing, a tamhą'k had to be the first to light the fire. He and his fellows, however, did not take part in the ensuing drive.

[=] Mojos Indios, 465.

1 [i.e. the sariema --- Analyst]

III. SOCIAL LIFE

Social Units

The units with which Ramkõ'kamekra individuals may be affiliated are manifold. They include (a) the individual family; (b) the matrilineal extended family; (c) matrilineal exogamous moieties; (d) nonexogamous rainy season moieties; (e) the plaza groups; (f) the plaza moieties; (g) the age classes; (h) the age-class moieties; (i) six men's societies.

Of these, the first four embrace both sexes, the remainder only men except that most of the primarily masculine organizations have each two girl associates. Membership in the matrilineal extended family and the exogamous moieties is hereditary; in the rainy season moieties, the plaza groups, and the plaza moieties it is hereditary in the sense that it hinges on the bearing of certain names transmitted from an older kinsman. An age class is constituted by joint initiation into adult status. Admission into the Clown society depends on one's talent for buffoonery; into the other societies a male enters by virtue of his names, which determine affiliation of an individual with two of the five organizations.

To the social bonds listed above may be added those involving formalized friendship; these, too, are largely connected with name transference.

Finally, there is an honorific order of hąmrén, which includes both sexes.

Since membership in a number of the units listed above depends on personal names, it seems well to premise some data on their acquisition and their relationship with the units in question.

Names

Every masculine or feminine name belongs to one of the rainy season moieties—kạ'makra and atụ'kmakra. Every masculine name belongs to one of the six plaza groups: Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture (eastern) and Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe (western); only two members of the female sex, the pepyé associates, belong to a plaza group, invariably to the Bats and the Dwarf Parrots. Every masculine name involves affiliation with two festive societies—either the Falcons and Jaguars (or the kõkrị't), or the Ducks and Agoutis; the girl associates of these organizations serve only for one ceremonial period.

Of the ten name sets none coincides with any other. The principle for their composition is not clear. Membership in the Clowns' organization and the tąmhą'k is independent of names borne.

A number of masculine as well as feminine names are paired, establishing a formalized friendship, which, however, may be achieved in other ways.

Every individual, irrespective of sex, successively acquires from two to eight names. As a rule, the entire set borne by an individual is linked with a single one of the units mentioned above. In exceptional instances an individual receives a name that determines a change in one or more of the unit types.

The following is a noteworthy case. Hiino and his maternal uncle Yua (=Hiino) used to belong to the Bats (eastern plaza group), the atụ'kmakra (rainy season moiety), and the Falcon-kõkrị't pair of societies. At the time of Hiino's pepyé initiation, it devolved on his plaza group to erect for him a hut for seclusion, its yard, and a latrine, but its members limited their efforts to building the hut. This so angered Yua that he left his eastern plaza group and joined the Armadillos (western). Henceforth the names Yua and Hiino no longer belong to the Bat, but to the Armadillo series. However, both men retained membership in the atụ'kmakra and the Falcon-kõkrị't organizations.

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Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ'makra log making, the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

After the last atụ'k race, which closes the meipimrạ'k season, the women of each group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ'k period, the mepatạmčwẹ'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place. The atụ'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ'k season.

Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõčwá society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ' season. Five weeks after the beginning of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ'makra." On the day that terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ' and atụ'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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Apart from their functions at initiation, the plaza groups likewise figure at the tepyarkwá (Fish Song) festival, for throughout that celebration the east and the west groups run log races. In the solemnities themselves two societies perform—the me'kẽ'n (= Aquatic Birds) or Clowns; and the "Fishes" recruited from the six plaza groups, among whom the Bats are conspicuous.

The contemporary functions of this complex scheme of three eastern and three western groups with distinctive personal names, decorative paint, and meeting houses hardly warrant its existence. I consider it possible that the present plaza groups represent clans formerly localized within the village, that these units fell into genealogical confusion, but retained their ceremonial obligations. The Akwẽ-Šerénte, like the Bororo, have moieties composed of several localized clans with ceremonial functions. Possibly the Timbira moieties shared this feature in earlier times.

Age Classes and Age Moieties

The age classes result from the boys' initiation, which accordingly requires discussion from a structural point of view, ceremonial aspects being reserved for treatment in a subsequent section.

All males pass through an approximately ten-year cycle of initiation. Those jointly initiated form a fixed lifelong age class: no one can resign or join a younger or older class. Thus, apart from the as yet uninitiated boys below, say, ten years of age, all males belong to some age class. In addition, the prospective novices at the next initiation organize in an unofficial class, mimicking so far as possible the youths' activities.

The four youngest and athletically active of the recognized classes occupy each a distinct place in the plaza, two on the east and two on the west side. This position automatically shifts with the lapse of time. Two successive entering classes always alternate as to the side of the plaza they enter: if the earlier is admitted on the east, the second inevitably goes to the west side about ten years later. With the appearance of a new class the survivors of the older active class on the same side leave the sport community, passing into the council, that is, into the very center of the plaza. The next older class of the side moves into the site thus vacated, creating in turn a gap that is filled by the newcomers. Ten years or so later the newly founded age class inaugurates a corresponding shift on the complementary side. Since the newcomers always enter on the north side, the transposition is invariably southward.

In figure 9 the as yet uninitiated boys are represented by a broken circle. The age mates completing initiation in a given year are designated as pepyé (warriors), and their position is marked by a double circle. The admission, shift, and exit of all surviving classes (as of November, 1935) are schematically represented; four classes now extinct figure with Arabic ciphers. It is thus possible to indicate the period of admission of the oldest men now living. However, the mechanism is adequately illustrated by the last three initiations (1913, 1923, 1933). All dates prior to 1923 are only approximate. Generally the span of a cycle is a decade, with positive or negative variations as great as two years.

In 1913 the cycle of age-class D (the present rópkama), which occupied the northwest site in the plaza, came to a close. Hence, the hitherto unofficial class E (the present kapraŋpotíkama) entered the scene opposite, that is, on the northeast, hitherto occupied by C (the present kokrụ'tkama). Hence C moved to the site of A (the present knkóekama), a class twenty years older and then the oldest of the four classes. Consequently the survivors of A left the racing association, passing into the middle of the plaza to become councilors.

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In 1923 the cycle of E was completed, hence the then boys, F (the present põhjtíkama), acquired the northwest site, opposite E. This precipitated the shift of D to the site of B men (the present prókama), a group twenty years older; and now the surviving B, the oldest of the racing groups, advanced to councilorship.

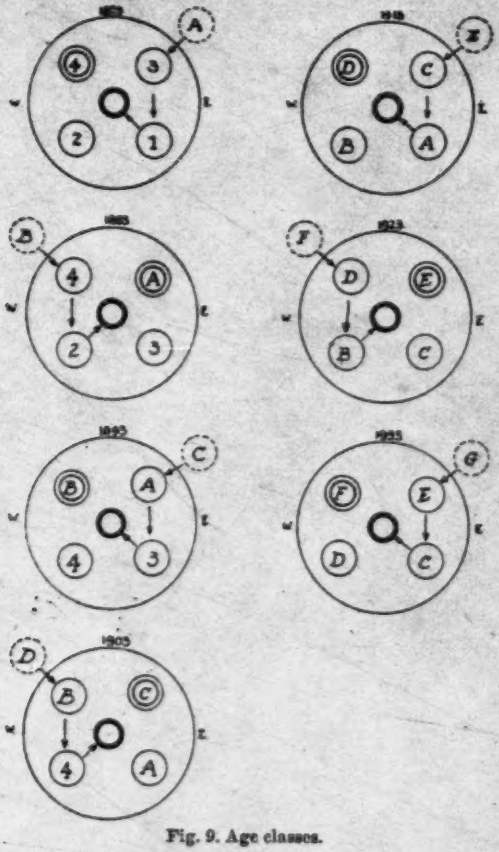

Fig. 9. Age classes.

In 1933 the cycle of F terminated, so that a new class, G (the present kra'tã'-kama), entered on the east side, whereupon the E group—twenty years older—occupied the site of C, which joined the council.

The recent membership for each class is given below, with the year of the completed initiation in parentheses:

Active Classes and Class Moieties

East (kọ'ikateye)	54	West (harã'kateye)	57
A. kra'tã'kama (uncompleted initiation)	31	B. põhjtíkama (1933)	36
C. kapranpotíkama (1923)	23	D. rópkama (1913)	21
		Council	
E. kokrụ'tkama (1903)	8	F. prókama (1893)	4
G. kukóekama (1883)	2	H. ? (1873)	—

616 561 There are thus no more than four active age classes, one pair on the east, the other on the west side. These "moieties" are closely connected with the two vu'tẽ girls and constitute the teams pitted against each other during the ceremonial season. Since each age class includes members of both exogamous moieties, the dual division produced by pairing the classes is of an entirely different order from that of the exogamous moieties. Nevertheless, a single term, mehakrã', is applied to the concept of the class pair and the exogamous moiety; and the moiety units of either type are called by identical names ko'ikateye and hara'kateye, for the east or west moieties, respectively.

616 561 562 527 Girl associates.--The term vu'tẽ designates both the girl associates and the ceremonial season complementary to the meipimra'k period. It is only during the vu'tẽ season that dances and songs are proper in the boulevard; during the meipimra'k they are confined exclusively to the plaza. During the celebration of the great festival of the year the vu'tẽ girls recede into the background, but with its close the activities of the age classes at once begin in the houses of their respective girl auxiliaries and continue until the approach of the rainy season ushers in special solemnities formally closing the season.

The vu'tẽ are chosen at a secret and unobtrusive council meeting held on a cultivated plot some distance from the village. Primarily it is the girls' fathers who are chosen on the basis of the following qualifications:

(a) Each must have a daughter from about seven to ten years of age.
(b) One man must belong to the eastern, the other to the western age-class moiety.
(c) Both men must be industrious and sociable in order to play their part successfully, for the entertainment of the age-class moieties devolves on them, not on the girls' maternal uncles.
(d) Their wives must own diametrically opposite houses, their position as to cardinal directions being immaterial.

The girls retain office until they receive a string girdle (pl. 3, a), that is, about until puberty. Virginity is imperative; if one of the girls loses it during her term of office, she is permitted to serve until the end of the current vu'tẽ period, but at the beginning of the next ceremonial season both girls would be superseded by new appointees. As a rule, the girls remain in office until the close of the second pepyé initiation, so that the incipient age class may start their cycle with new auxiliaries. This was true in 1933 when the põhitĩkama completed their cycle.

A vu'te should be of reserved and staid demeanor; she does not participate in the games girls of her age play in the plaza. 616 561

The eastern age-class moiety assembles in the maternal home of the vu'te whose father is of the western age-class moiety, and vice versa. 562 527

The members of an age-class moiety and their vu'te address one another as brothers and sisters and behave accordingly. When the girl's father puts up or enlarges a dwelling to provide adequate space for the moiety meetings, its members assist him, as they do when he is farming.

The eastern semicircle belongs to the vu'te of the eastern age-class moiety, and vice versa. Victorious racers arriving at the boulevard with their log always run toward the house of their girl associate, whither the losing team must follow them. Sometimes the racers continue running round the boulevard until completely exhausted. Then the victors' vu'te is likely to commiserate the fatigued runners or will bar their way by stepping in their path as they are passing her house, and will touch the log with her hand, whereupon it is immediately dropped.

Relay races and races between two competitors always start in the space before

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the house of the challenging team's vṵ'tẹ́'. The course of a relay race is from this house along her semicircle, thence onward. Two competitors theoretically run from the house of the challenger's vṵ'tẹ́' across the plaza to the opponents' vṵ'tẹ́' house. In the present village the ground slopes southward in some measure, so these races always proceed from the house of the vṵ'tẹ́' of the eastern age-class moiety (on the north side of the village) to the vṵ'tẹ́' house of the complementary pair.

Leaders.—The two official leaders, mamkyẽ'ti, of a class represent, respectively, the eastern and western plaza groups. Before the opening of the first initiation phase they are carefully selected by the councilors from among the prospective initiates. To begin the solemnities these two boys are led out of their mothers' houses and made to face each other in the plaza. Their badge is a fan of erect arara tail feathers worn at the back of the head. In the earlier phase, where the initiates of the eastern and the western plaza groups appear separately, each leader heads his group, all marching in Indian file. In the latter phase, where this dichotomy no longer holds, and after the close of initiation, the leader of the eastern moiety takes precedence.

These mamkyẽ'ti form part of a ceremonial aristocracy (p. 97). It is they who actually govern the age classes, being possibly the only functionaries who literally issue orders among the Canella, a task for which they are trained from the beginning. Only they have the right to summon their class fellows, who are obliged to obey the call and may not assemble without their leaders. Anyone who has dealings with a class, including the chiefs, must turn to its mamkyẽ'ti. These leaders are subject only to the council and—during the initiation period—also to the mekapónkate (instructor, commandant), who belongs to an older class, and to his deputy, the mekapónkatekahą'k, the senior member of the class to be initiated.

In case of a leader's death no substitute is chosen. If both mamkyẽ'ti should die prematurely, the instructor's deputy assumes the leadership, but this is always regarded as a calamity for the class. Theoretically, the leaders are equals, but in practice the abler of the two soon gains ascendancy without, however, completely eclipsing his colleague. In contrast to the chiefs, the mamkyẽ'ti exercise no authority whatever beyond their age class.

In former times the mamkyẽ'ti led their class in war and in the chase, though always aided by one or several older men. Since warfare belongs completely to the past and communal hunting has dwindled in importance the present significance of these officers is slight—apart from ceremonial. The present situation for the several classes is as follows:

(a) The youngest class, kra'tą́'kama, is actually governed by its mekapónkate.

(b) The next older class, põhjtíkama, has two mamkyẽ'ti, but they are completely overshadowed by the personality of Kapẽrtṵ'k, the second commandant and actual leader.

(c) The kaprąnpotíkama have a very able and energetic leader named Yõ'ro; his colleague is no longer living. During the last pepyé ceremony of this class (1923) Čątú was their instructor; he remained with them after the close of the initiation and from sheer devotion to his pupils continues as their nonofficial commandant. Yõ'ro still continues to regard him as a superior.

(d) The oldest active class, the rópkama, have only one mamkyẽ'ti, Koipõ'ro, the other having died.

The term mamkyẽ'ti, evidently connected with kyẽ, exogamous moiety, suggests that the leaders originally represented the exogamous halves rather than the plaza

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174 moieties; or that their office dates back to a time when these two types of dual division coincided.

Exit from the age class.—When retiring, the kukrų'tkama, men about fifty years
561 old, whose cycle was completed in about 1903, had dwindled to a membership of
623 eight. Their leaders, as well as the deputy instructor, had long been dead, and
886 the class as a unit played only a subordinate social part: meetings were rare and hardly ever fully attended in the proper site of the plaza; and there was little participation in log races. On the other hand, some of them who enjoyed a certain prestige almost regularly appeared in the council. Nevertheless they had by no means forgotten their kukrų'tkama affiliation.

When the pepyé festival of 1932 closed the initiation of the põhįtĩkama, the boys (kra'tã'kama) entering on the northeast side of the plaza, the kukrų'tkama yielded their place to the advancing kaprąnpotĩkama. Ten days after the festival all the survivors once more assembled in decorative paint and grass costume in order to run their last log race, in which eastern and western age classes were pitted against each other. Subsequently they did not appear jointly except in the council, with the numerically insignificant survivors of two older classes.

561 *Economic role.*—Compared with their socioceremonial and sportive importance,
464 the economic activities of the age classes are quite subordinate. No class as such owns any property; even the place of assembly into which the vų'tę''s house is transformed belongs exclusively to her mother. At the opening of a vų'tę' season the members of a class must humbly ask for this woman's permission before starting their performances there. However, there are two occasions on which the classes engage in economic labors, though not in systematic fashion.

In the first place, they build houses for persons otherwise engaged in matters of public concern. Thus, the two junior classes erected the dwelling of a woman whose husband was a tribal delegate in the state capital. Further, even without such compelling motive the class will help a fellow member put up his house. In 1935 I witnessed the hurried erection of a house by the põhįtĩkama, whose deputy instructor's wife was looking forward to her delivery in the near future.

561 Secondly, age classes assist in harvesting. Since farming is growing in impor-
243 tance every year, the classes play an ever larger part at crop gathering, especially
476 at the anciently nonexistent rice harvest. For meteorological reasons it is essential
623 to harvest this crop as expeditiously as possible; though the prospective beneficiary cannot afford to abandon his crop at this time, he is often expected to attend the commencement of a major festival in the village. For several years it has been customary not to begin the great celebrations before the garnering of the rice, and to obviate delay for the whole settlement, the age classes then help those who are behind schedule. Whoever requires such aid appeals to the councilors to send him the junior age class of his own class moiety. The council decides as to the possibility of such assistance, for the class may already have been requisitioned for other tasks, and communicates the decision to two class leaders. In case of an affirmative reply the young men as a body appear at the appropriate site, for occasional dances accompanied by a number of girls of their own age. Rarely does the class receive any remuneration, consisting in that case of a small share of the crop, which the leaders subsequently arrange to have prepared for all members.
[461] As a rule the beneficiary merely feeds her assistants, who, to be sure, by no means overexert themselves, dawdling to such an extent that I was sometimes puzzled to know whether their collaboration was worth while. However, toward the end of the rice harvest they are constantly occupied.

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The festive societies and the King Vultures (p. 98 f.) render similar assistance to their members.

But while the growth of agriculture adds to the practical work of the classes, there is diminution by the lessening importance of the communal hunts and the complete elimination of war raids.

Corrections.—Some of my own earliest statements, as well as some of Snethlage's, require explicit correction.[122]

The complete initiation requires not three to five, but about ten years; the number of class leaders is two, not one; not the three, but the four youngest classes are actively engaged in sport; the terms kǫ̃'ikateyë and harãkateye do not—in this connection—designate the exogamous moieties, but their namesakes, the eastern and western class moieties; the classes meet in the houses of their vụ'tẹ́, not of their commandants.

It is quite wrong to speak, as Snethlage does, of a "men's tribal society" into which boys and youths are admitted after numerous tests and ceremonies. The total number of age classes is indefinite, and their totality does not constitute one grand organization. Further, the commandants do not form the elders' council which is really made up of the survivors of no longer athletically active classes, irrespective of their previous incumbency as commandants. As already explained, an exogamous moiety is not headed by "the commandant of its (!) age class," for it has no headman at all. Finally, it is thoroughly confusing to say that a married man continues to take part in the activities of his age class, *"which does not admit his wife's brothers."* Since the classes have nothing to do with the exogamous moieties but are each composed of age mates of *both* moieties, a man and his brothers-in-law may very well belong to a single class.

The Men's Societies[123]

There are six organized men's societies, which appear only during certain festivals. They are: rop, Jaguars; kukén, Agoutis; koikayú, Ducks; hąk, Falcons; kõkrỵ̀'t, Water Monster (masqueraders); me'kẽ'n, Aquatic Birds (buffoons). For convenience the last two may be referred to as Mummers and Clowns, respectively.

Possibly the Fish companies at the tepyarkwá festival and the hõčwá at the sweet-potato ceremony might also be reckoned under this head. Not so the King Vultures, who must be put into a different category (p. 98).

The societies are referred to as me'kwẹ́, a term also applied to the age classes. A man will say, "meikwẹ́ pẽ kukén," I belong to the Agouti society. Usually a society has some thirty members. Except for the Clowns, the organizations are entered by virtue of one's names (p. 77). Many Indians simultaneously belong to more than one society, but in that case the several societies are usually such as are not obliged to appear at the same time. For instance, one Tunkõ' is a Falcon, a Jaguar, and a Mummer. In addition he also served as a substitute for the Little Falcon in the terminal ceremony of the vụ'tẹ́ season and was head of the King Vultures.

Each society has a head appointed by the council and called hõpa'hí, like the tribal chiefs. He is chosen for his gaiety and eloquence, being expected to infuse life into the festive proceedings.

Though women are not admitted to regular membership, each society has two girl associates, mekuičwẹ'i. There is no indication that they anciently represented

[122] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 671. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167, 169, 170.

[123] These societies evidently are quite distinct in function from the ẽrente men's organizations. See Nimuendajú, The Serente, 59–64. R. H. L.

1 [i.e. collective labor in harvesting --- Analyst.]

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yarkwá festivals. On these occasions they assemble in a special house lying toward the north on the eastern half of the circumference. However, the Clowns may also be seen singly or in small groups on many other occasions, even in everyday situations; but they withdraw from all the more serious and solemn ceremonials.

In their public performances the Clowns are distinguished by their grotesque make-up as to paint, ornaments, and other paraphernalia; and their behavior is correspondingly absurd. They affect a ridiculous gait and mien and deceive the villagers by harmless lies and false alarms without evoking resentment.

For example, when a boy's ear lobes are pierced, his maternal uncle kills a deer on some unspecified day, dissects it, packs the slices into a basket, and furtively carries this to the plaza. No sooner have the women caught sight of him than they dash out of their houses with knives in order to snatch off a piece of meat in the general scrimmage. One morning when this episode had been due for several days there finally loomed a figure at daybreak that ran toward the plaza carrying a load, which it hurriedly deposited before taking to its heels. At once the women and girls rushed over with yells, fell upon the basket pell-mell, and tore it open, each trying to seize as much as she could of its contents. But this proved to consist of straw, rotten wood, rusty tin cans, and a few rocks. Not only the Clowns, but the whole village laughed at the women standing flabbergasted before their "booty" with their knives and finally they themselves joined in the general merriment.

At certain house-to-house processions the Clowns try to steal food and are sometimes beaten by the women, to everyone's amusement.

At pepkahą'k four of them, with their two girl auxiliaries, enter with face masks of *Lagenaria* rind.

However, the ceremonial activities of the Clowns, as well as of the other organizations are best considered in the description of the festivals.

The Hąmrén

This honorific order comprises five otherwise unrelated groups which share public esteem and ceremonial eminence: (1) the village chiefs (pa'hí); (2) the leaders (mamkyẽ'ti) of the age classes; (3) those girls who are associated with the boys during their initiation ceremony and are called pepkwę'i after the close of the initiation; (4) the women's precentresses (mehõkrepúi); (5) the King Vultures (tamhą'k). Because of the numerical preponderance of the last-named group over the others combined, the term hąmrén is often used as a synonym for tamhą'k; properly it means "recovered from illness."

The first three groups of functionaries are appointed by the council on the basis of personal fitness. This also determines the choice of a precentress, but she is usually selected by the girl's family.

Notwithstanding the respect accorded to the hąmrén, they are not coextensive with the persons of distinction, for the councilmen, who (with the chiefs) rule the tribe and are always approached reverentially with a bowlful of food, are by no means hąmrén *as* councilors, but only through special circumstances. Similarly, the precentor, though far more important than his female colleague, is never hąmrén ex officio.

The natives link the concept of hąmrén with that of something special, superior, more refined, so that they are somewhat distinct from the rest of the population. The head of the King Vultures compared them to the "doutores" of Neobrazilian rusties, who apply the term to all intellectuals, superior officials, etc., irrespective of academic rank. By contrast all other residents are classed as mekakránkra (me,

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794 789 [788] they handle. This view finds expression in the rituals of economic life in its several phases. A tamhą'k is the first to taste of certain fruits in order to augment the crop; he lights the grass in a communal drive to ensure a plentiful kill; he makes the first incision in the hide of a slain tapir so that it may prove fat; and when fish are drugged, he precedes others in stepping into the water to spit the first victims, thus promoting an abundant catch thereafter.

794 156 Many tamhą'k consider their obligations a nuisance and formally resign by joining in the destruction of a wasp nest in the pepkahą'k (p. 214). This seems to be the only method of resignation.

794 302 It is only during the pepkahą'k that the King Vultures figure as an organized unit, and then only during the last fortnight of that festival, when they appear as allies of the Clowns, Falcons, and pepkahą'k, participating in sundry dances and log races, which culminate in the great ceremonial feeding of the tribal groups by the tamhą'k. On this occasion all the King Vultures wear the identical decoration, viz: On their backs, chests, arms and thighs their matrilineal kinswomen glue vertical stripes of falcon down to the width of three fingers; this distinguishes them from other hąmrén, who are completely covered with down at ceremonials. The bare parts of the body and limbs are daubed red with urucú. The occipital hair is tied together, and has fastened to it a rattling ornamental bundle of some thirty carefully smoothed bamboo rods, about 30 cm. long and of the thickness of lead-pencils. The tuft of the wearer's hair is pulled through a plaited ring at the top of the ornament; two long arara feathers—rarely worn at present because the species is almost extinct in this region—are thrust through the ring so as to project obliquely upward and outward.

Formalized Friendship Bonds

1. *The hąpín-pinčwę'i bond*

608 This social bond most frequently springs from name transference. A man who conveys his name to a sister's son or equivalent and a woman who bestows hers on a patrilineal kinswoman thereby make the boy the hąpín and the girl the pinčwę'i of all those who by similar transfer had become the uncle's and the aunt's "friends." For every personal name involves this bond with the bearers of from six to ten other names, masculine and feminine, including individuals of alien Timbira tribes. Thus, Tunkõ''s hapín are the bearers of the masculine names Kaukré; Kčča; Prjčet; Ke'ké; Pepkrõ'; Pąnatč'k; Kukaprõ'. His pinčwę'i are the women named Krąkupč'; Nyõną'n; Ikurč'.

Among these there is always a special friend (hąpínpey and pinčwę'ipey; pey = good, proper, real), viz., the bearer of a particular name who assumes the obligations connected with this bond in the fullest sense, while the other hąpín take them much more lightly.

Much more rarely the tie is established either automatically through joint exercise of certain ceremonial offices or by voluntary arrangement. The latter takes two forms. First, a person may tie an ornament of no particular type round a pregnant woman's neck and thereby become the hąpín of the infant as soon as it is born. This bond holds regardless of the child's sex and is considered to impose obligations as strong as those which hinge on the bearing of certain names. Secondly, youths and their girl associates may choose one or more "friends" during the pepyé phase of initiation. The day after their seclusion is lifted the novices, limiting themselves to their own age class, make their choice while camped in the woods by a creek near the village. If two initiates not yet so coupled by virtue of

572 561

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572 561 their names desire to become "friends," they enter the creek, which is about a meter in depth, stand back to back, dive and simultaneously swim away in opposite directions, rise to the surface, and turn about so as to face each other. The relationship thus formed is taken less seriously than in the preceding cases, but may be inherited.

608 627 Especially at secret nocturnal meetings during the pepyé phase of initiation the first commandant of the novices explains the twofold obligations of "friendship," viz., mutual respect and solidarity. Respect is manifested in various ways. Speaking of or to one another, friends never use personal names, invariably substituting the terms hąpín and pinčwę'i without the pronominal prefix, and in the second case mostly resorting to teknonymous paraphrasing. If two "friends" meet on a narrow trail, neither yields precedence, *both* turning aside to the right or the left until past each other. A hąpín and his pinčwę'i must neither marry nor philander; indeed, in conversation they must avoid erotic references, including mention of anything relating to their own sex experiences. Even friends of the same sex converse seriously, neither laughing at the other or mocking him. If a dispute is unavoidable, it must not be carried on in the presence of others. In case of a definite breach the chief preferably appoints as arbiter one who is a hąpín to both parties; and similarly, in a conjugal quarrel he appoints the hąpín of the husband or the wife to make peace, the spouses being under obligation to heed this umpire's admonitions.

Too much mutual familiarity is forbidden to "friends." When conversing they do not look at each other, but stand abreast, each gazing straight ahead. At the Mummers' entrance into the village, girls customarily tie badges to the horns of the paraders, thereby becoming their respective "mothers"; but a masquerader mutely declines this favor by a movement of his shoulders if he recognizes the girl as his pinčwę'i.

No hąpín may beg of another. It was sometimes droll to watch Čątú, one of the worst mendicants in the village, inwardly struggling to restrain himself from begging of me. If I absolutely refused to take a hint, he would wait for a moment when we were alone, then with timid glances round about he would say in a subdued [577] voice, "hąpín, you know... I am not allowed to say anything... but..." Only when pressed would he express his wishes in plain terms.

The second obligatory attitude, that of solidarity, sometimes assumes grotesque forms. Complementary to the prohibition of mutual mendicancy is the duty to look out for another hąpín's needs and to supply them by spontaneous presents. They also make common cause in danger and in dispute. Odd is the official appeal for aid in a difficulty. The suppliant waits for an assembly in the plaza, then steps in front of his friend, but with his back toward him, publicly explains his plight, and then goes home. The hąpín is then under obligation to do what he can in his friend's behalf.

123 608 But in case of danger a hąpín ought to leap into the breach spontaneously. During my periodic palavers with whisky dealers and other such bearers of culture Čątú quite unobtrusively soon takes up a position nearby, leaning on his enormous sword club, and watches the course of events. Sometimes he brings along several members of his age class. Subsequently he is likely to approach and apologize, "Look, hąpín, I know you told us not to interfere, but he might have become impudent." And at that Čątú is by no means a teetotaler!

In case of an accident it is a meritorious act for a friend to prove his loyalty by voluntarily undergoing the same pain. Once I slightly injured my arm; as soon as

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When about four to eight years old the girls wear as festive decoration wooden bracelets, which are sometimes prettily carved.

Boys segregate themselves from girls at an early age. Their first and principal toy is a small bow, which differs from the adults' weapon in having a round cross section (pl. 24, *a*). The first arrows are little rods made from the ribs of palm leaflets (pl. 24, *b*). As the lads grow older, bows and arrows gradually approach the ultimate form, the stave grows flatter, the arrows are feathered and pointed.

Among playthings there are toy guns for shooting maize kernels by means of an elastic strip of bamboo (pl. 23, *g*). Obviously borrowed from Neobrazilians, they share the name of firearms, katõkre (tõk, the report of a gun). Further, the boys have buzzers (pl. 24, *n*), humming tops with a string pulled through the hole in a little board (pl. 24, *i*), small palm-nut tops, miniature imitations of dance masks, animal figurines of wax (pl. 23, *e–f*), and grass figures like those of the Apinayé.[35]

Trick carvings (pl. 24, *o*), games of patience (pl. 24, *m*), and cat's cradle serve for the amusement of bigger boys and girls.

THE BOYS' CLASS

At about six years of age the boys begin to have a sense of age-class solidarity, a fact that strongly affects their relations with their families. No one urges them to form such a company, which is joined quite spontaneously, by some of them earlier, by others later. This is a natural consequence of an environment surcharged with a socioceremonial spirit. As their model they take the youngest of the four official age classes, and whenever this group plays its part in a major ceremonial this has an obviously stimulating effect on the minors.

I first observed this in 1930 at the second ketúaye of the subsequent põhjtíkama class. About fifteen boys (from among twice that number), mostly six to eight years old united as an unofficial class. *On their own request* the council appointed an instructor, mekapónkate, for them; and he taught them to plait, shoot, sing and dance, explained the ceremonial, and enjoined upon them to be honest and comradely. They went jointly to bathe and hunt, arranged races and log races—in short, prepared in every respect for their future status as a recognized class. The elders even gave them a class name—Pądntųktíkama (pądntųkti, black arara). Three years later the põhjtíkama completed their cycle of initiation and precipitated a shift of age classes in the plaza; and the minors were then admitted as the junior eastern class, mepantúa, to the northeast station there, acquiring the name Kra'tãkama. As already stated, they began racing against the western mepantúa, a group on the average ten years older. In the following year, when subjected to their first ketúaye, they had their organization completed.

On my return in 1935 I found a new boys' class in process of formation. In 1936 I saw them nicely imitating the adults' erection of a hadre mast at the opening of the vų'tę' period. A group of hunters comprising members of both age-class moieties had prepared a mast 6 m. high outside the village. Having wound foliage round it and tied on the sliced game, they carried it into the village at a trot. Ahead of them a man came dashing and uttering piercing yells; in the center of the plaza he dug a hole for the post. At once the women came rushing up from all directions. The hunters planted the pole in the pit and held it erect, but pretended to let it drop now in one direction, now in the other, which naturally made the women run thither. At last the men laid down the mast, and the women stripped it pell-mell while one of the Clowns at the last moment tried to drag it away. Hardly was this

[35] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 108 f.

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scene over before several other Clowns came running with a small, gnarled tree from which intestines, pieces of wood, but also some slices of good meat were suspended, of which the women likewise took possession.

On the following day the boys went hunting and killed a number of small birds and steppe rats. They tied their spoils to a tree, dragged it to the plaza, and set it upright, while the little girls came running from all sides to pillage it. Other boys had tied their game to the tip of their long tuft of hair and ran across the plaza, chased by the girls, who finally despoiled them of the booty.

GROWING GIRLS

At the age of boys beginning to organize, the girls already assist their mothers at home and in the plantations and mostly excel them as dancers and singers in the plaza. Public opinion exacts competence in both spheres. A girl unfit for domestic and farming labor will not readily find a husband; but the collaboration of girls in the chanting and dancing that is indispensable for every festival and ceremonial is considered equally important. No Timbira mother would restrain her daughter from attending a dance on the ground of work to be done at home or in the plots. If there are too few girls in the plaza for a dance, the truants are publicly reproved by the elders, who may send specially delegated men to fetch them out of their maternal homes. One of these messengers advances the tip of his sword-club toward the girl, who is obliged to clasp it, and he then leads her by the club to the plaza. Such treatment may be accorded to girls no older than ten, and at about twelve both sexes are in the thick of the manifold socioceremonial life of age classes, festive societies, and other units.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

Before discussing the relations of the sexes during and prior to wedlock, I wish to state explicitly what is sufficiently apparent from the description of social structure: Neither sex considers the other inferior; the sexes have distinct functions, not higher and lower ones. Of course there are no feminine chiefs or councilors, and the religious ceremonies on behalf of the commonweal are always performed by men. Further, there is no preponderantly feminine organization. On the other hand, women not only own dwellings and plantations, but also have a claim on the children, and except in warfare nothing is undertaken without feminine participation, whence the vụ'tẹ' institution (p. 92), the girl associates in the festive societies and the boys' initiation (p. 95 f.), and the resulting membership of women in the hạmrén (p. 97 f.). There is but a single wholly masculine organization, that of the King Vultures; and this is due to their comprising all the honorary chiefs, which automatically excludes women since female chiefs are unknown. The two types of formalized friendship likewise embrace both sexes, even though the circumstances in which the kwụ'nõ bond is established restrict the number of females capable of entering it (p. 104).

In contrast to tribes with masculine societies for terrorizing women or with other methods of frightening them,[10] the Rąmkõ'kamekra seem to be above all interested in a merry comradeship of the two sexes. This attitude rests on the manifest appreciation of feminine personality. If a girl or woman differs in opinion from a man and agreement is hopeless, the matter is allowed to rest; it would be regarded as mean and ridiculous for a man to get angry, let alone try coercion. All relations rest on free consent within the tribal code. Accordingly rape was unknown, the

[10] Nimuendajú and Lowie, The Associations of the Šerénte, 415.

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wakukrá iykapeĩne." That is, approximately: "Grandfather! Give me a child so that I may be able to eat with him." Then the suppliant spreads the urucú on the inside of her thighs.

Kentapí did not take that much trouble. One morning she was sitting at home against the wall, eating some food from a gourd bowl, while the sun was shining in at the door, directly in front of her feet. She set down her bowl, stretched out both palms horizontally toward the sun, like a begging child, and without getting up said in a low tone: "pa'pám! iymã iykra ṅoṅgõ! pa'pám iykaprẽ', marwa'té iykrí napá. Ka, iykaprẽne iymã iykrareñoṅgõ, vamẽ iypa!" ("Our Father! Give me a child! Our Father, take pity on me, I am sitting here alone, eating. You, pity me, give me a child to eat with me!") On my request she subsequently repeated the words. "I wonder whether he will listen to your prayer?" I asked. "Surely," she answered, "look at Iromkré [Kentapí's younger sister], she also invoked him and is already pregnant." However, it was three years before Kentapí's prayer was fulfilled.

It is a striking fact that the girls of this tribe never have children before, and only several years after, marriage. This is regarded as normal by the Indians themselves, and the above-mentioned Iromkré, who conceived immediately after marriage, was considered exceptional. She was fifteen as a primipara, and her mother told me that she was really too young to bear children. Abortives, if used at all, are exceptional; nor, in my opinion, can the means employed to prevent menstruation be responsible for the lateness of pregnancy in the light of the earliness of sexual intercourse. For this purpose a girl will seat herself on a steppe tree the Neobrazilians call pau pombo (*Tapirira* sp.?) or drink the infusion of the scraped bark of pau candeia (*Cassia* sp.), which is also considered an abortive.

In any case Snethlage probably underestimates the age of mothers in setting that of Ramkõ'kamekra girls who already had a child at barely twelve;[88] or, possibly the child he had in mind was not the offspring of the girl with her. The youngest mother I saw was certainly Iromkré, whose age was between fourteen and fifteen.

OLD AGE

Old people are esteemed; a junior would not venture to address them by name as though they were of his own age, but will always apply a kinship term, calling them kedti or tụ'ire (grandparent) even if there is no blood relationship. Children and young people never try to converse with their elders unsolicited; even when they have to make some communication to them, they usually remain standing before them in silence until asked to speak. In meeting old people on a narrow path, the younger ones make way to let them pass. I have never heard the frailty of old age derided or mocked. Old Krithị', though already hard of hearing and very myopic, would insist on occasionally going to the creek five to six kilometers beyond the village to try his luck as an angler. On these trips he went astray several times on the numerous trails crisscrossing the steppe and was unable to find his way home. Then his grandsons or great-nephews trotted in his wake like hunting-dogs and jubilantly led him back by the hand.

I have pointed out (p. 94) that after a period of some forty years of athletic life all men of an age class ceremonially and automatically drop out of the sports activities to enter the council, which constitutes the real governing body of the tribe since the chiefs undertake nothing without their advice. Further, I have explained by many illustrations that after any ceremonial retreat a person must present himself to this assemblage before being reckoned a full-fledged member of society again.

[88] Snethlage, Reise, 463.

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526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not the slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing.[*]

554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, but no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 616 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes that are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a ketûaye or pepyé festival is held that year.

● 561 575 2. The pąrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional in that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society races against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, and the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, in the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against the Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termination celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the ką' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 628 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members of different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapons and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkō'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance from the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad blood between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 881 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs; but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

562 1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there is no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 562 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap in competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of the

[*] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.